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852
that the child is a girl and let him alone, for it is boys that they really 302
try to get hold of.

Hair from the first cutting should never be thoughtlessly thrown [826]
out on the ground. The best thing to do is to wrap it in a small piece of cloth and take it to the Nerbudda River where it is thrown in as an offering. No special trip to the river is required and the hair may be kept in the house until some convenient season or until some friend or relative happens to be going that way. The belief that magic may be [754] worked with hair is prevalent in India, but Kols do not seem to fear this danger, nor do they believe that another may work harm by possessing it.

852
FIRST FEEDING: *Pasni*. Most Kols attach considerable im- 853
portance to the child's first feeding with solid food. This should be done 862
when the child is about six months old. One group said that the [177] feeding should be done at five months in the case of a girl and six months for a boy. This indicates Hindu influences.

The family invites as many of the child's relatives as they can 852
afford to feed for a general feast following the ceremony. The child 853
is to be fed with sweetened *khir*—rice boiled in milk—which has been 862
specially prepared for this occasion. A portion of *khir* is placed in a 574
small cup made from the leaves of the mango tree (*Mangifera indica*). As the ceremony begins, the friends and relatives wash their hands [515] with water specially brought for them; the child's teeth, if in, are cleaned by being lightly brushed with a mango twig. The person who breaks the child's "fast", and this may be one of a number of relatives, [602] among whom we find mentioned the name of the father, mother and father's sister (*phuphu*), first dips the index finger of the right hand into the *khir* and brings a portion up to the child's mouth but does not actually touch its lips, for the finger is immediately withdrawn. This movement is made six times, but on the seventh occasion the finger is put into the child's mouth and with it a bit of the *khir* is inserted. Others present follow in the same way until all have fed the infant. Each one who thus feeds the child is supposed to drop into a dish beside it some money, the amount varying according to circumstances: it ought not to be less than four pice and may be as much as eight annas. The money thus collected is used to buy silver bangles for the child.

Sometimes the child is fed with a silver coin rather than by the plain finger. This may be an influence of Hinduism. One group said the silver coin must be either a four or eight anna piece. The coin used is dipped into the *khir* and the baby fed on the seventh approach as in the above description. The *phuphu* receives the coins by which

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584 252 [578] him verbally (give *gali*), take all kinds of liberties with him and try their best to make him lose his temper. He is supposed to take no notice of this but to remain calmly at his work. After the *lawa* is prepared (the man does not prepare all that is required) it is put into [532] a new *ghara* decorated with pictures representing females. Sometimes other articles are also put into the *ghara* —uncooked rice, bits of *supari* nut, *haldi* and two-pice coins. When prepared at the bride-groom's house the *lawa* is kept to be taken with the boy's party on their trip to the girl's village for the *sadi* and is there mixed with the *lawa* prepared in the girl's house for use at the time of the wedding. The [574 626 578] preparation of the *lawa*, which is made a day or two before the group leaves for the wedding, is made the occasion for the reconciliation of estranged relatives within the village and the consequent restoration of friendship. This reconciliation may also be extended to any member of the *kurhi* with whom there have been unhappy relations.

584 349 (*b*) *Marriage Booth: Marhwa.* In the meantime there has been far more to do at the girl's house where the actual wedding is to take place, for the wedding booth (*marhwa* or *mandap*) must be constructed there. This is usually set up in the courtyard immediately in front of the girl's house. In this booth the essentials of the marriage ceremony are performed and the sacred pole is fixed at its centre. Male relatives of the bridegroom help to build it, but women must have nothing to do with its construction. Before the men who come to work can actually start operations the bridegroom must have his body [302 602 593] rubbed with *til* oil mixed with *haldi*. The anointing should be done by his sister or another close female relative and he should then be dressed in clothes which have been dipped in *haldi* water. The construction of the *marhwa* may now begin.

584 349 824 The *marhwa* is constructed of prescribed kinds of wood. Its size varies, but is usually about eight feet square and six to seven feet high. Nine poles are used in its construction, including the central post, called the *magrohan*, which however does not reach up to the roof. *Saleh* (*Boswellia serrata*) is the most favoured kind of wood and if procurable is preferred, both for the framework of the booth and for the sacred pole at its centre. The eight remaining poles are arranged so that there are three on a side. Text figure 21 will make this clear.[1] If *saleh* wood is not available, *gular* (*Ficus glomerata*), *sal* (*Sheora robusta*), *char* (*Buchanania latifolia*) or even bamboo are permissible. The central post, however, must be of *saleh* wood and they search far and wide until they have found it. The leaves of the banana plant are tied to each of the eight poles and over the top. The

[1] [ow p.86.-Awal-ji]

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4. In some things the men take the leading part, but the women assist in certain occupations, such as : 462

Grazing cattle.
Purchasing supplies in the bazaar.
Watching crops by day.
Cutting wood for the house.
Construction of houses.
Milking of cows and goats.

5. There are some things that are absolutely taboo to the women such as :

Ploughing.
Getting up on a roof.

6. There is one thing that a man should never do : wash the clothes of a woman. [296]

7. There are a number of things neither a man nor a woman does, some of them have been listed and others have not. These tasks are the particular work of certain castes and occupational groups, and Kols leave such work to them. [564]

Among Kols working in industrial centres the wife and husband often work side by side at the same task, such as digging stone, carrying baskets of stone for the lime kiln, and the like.

GUESTS AND HOSPITALITY. On account of the smallness of Kol houses it is not possible for Kols to do much in the way of entertaining. Nevertheless hospitality is extended as far as is possible under the circumstances. A visiting relative is given a place within the family. On his arrival, he is met by the men of the house and greeted. The salutation takes the form of an embrace. The two put the arms around each other and touch first the left shoulder to the left shoulder, then the right to right. The next thing is to touch each others' knees, first the left, then the right, both hands generally being used. The final part is the grasping of the right hand.[1] Provision is made for the relative so that he or she may sleep comfortably during the night. This often entails hardship on the members of the family particularly if the house is crowded. A relative takes food with the other members of the family : men sitting with men and women with women. If the visitor should be a friend but not a relative, it is usual for him to be given a place to sleep, but he does not take his food with the family. He is expected to cook his own food, although the materials for the same are supplied free to him by the family with whom he is stopping. 574 602 [576] [264] [252]

1 See plate XII.

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159
[539] Wherever thou goest
There a fire flares up.
You are haunted by Saturn (ill luck)
So where art thou going?

This verse sums up the story of my life.

When I was in Balaghat I did not marry. I left work there and went on foot to Sukari to see my sister and stayed there for eight years. In Gondia I kept a woman with me, but did not marry her, and had [836 848] two children by her. From Sukari the four of us came by foot to Padriganj and from there bought tickets to return to Barela. We had but little money in hand, and although all our relatives were living together in Barela they would not take me back and I had to build a separate hut.

When I was ten or twelve years old I worked in the fort (Gun Carriage Factory, Jubbulpore) when its foundations were being built and for two years received four annas a day. Carrying dirt was my work at that time.

Just now, sir, I am very thin but before this I was very healthy and strong. Now I am working as a coolie and am settled here and hope never to leave Barela again. The woman I took to live with [163] me in Gondia is still with me and altogether she has given birth to seven children, five of them having died, two when they were quite old. My son is sick and often has fits.

[262] I have had a hard time in life. I have had no food and ate bread made of mango kernels and the flowers of the *semal* tree. And many other things which the ordinary man never eats. At the time of the great famine this was my lot. Rice was then four annas a seer, and we could not afford it. A few months ago I was very ill and we had [758] no money so my wife had to get roots and leaves from the jungle. When I am sick I am not able to work and we all suffer. I am ashamed to ask for help from any one. Three years ago we were both very ill and we simply closed the door and remained inside. Our relatives [602] didn't help us with either food or money, but both of us recovered.

[426] I have a debt of about Rs. 4 or 5 but never in my life have I taken a large loan. I never drink wine except when invited to some wedding festivities. I am not in this habit and know that it is not good to drink liquor. I don't know the disadvantages of drink because I don't drink. Of course this I know, that if you are intoxicated then anyone may come, kick you and rob you of what you may have on your person. There is loss of money too. The same money can be